

## Message Text

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51

ACTION EA-14

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C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 8239

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E. O. 11652: ( GDS)

TAGS: PFOR, ESTC, PARM, JA, UR, UN

SUBJECT: NIXON- TANAKA SUMMIT BACKGROUND PAPER - XI: SOME  
MULTILATERAL ISSUES

1. IN THE CONTEXT OF EXCHANGING VIEWS ON BROAD POLITICAL AND  
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS IN THE WORLD, THE FOLLOWING ISSUES MAY  
POSSIBLY BE RAISED AT THE SUMMIT.

2. NPT. SINCE KUILIMA, JAPAN HAS TAKEN A SIGNIFICANT STEP IN  
THE DIRECTION OF NPT RATIFICATION BY HOLDING FIRST SERIOUS  
DISCUSSIONS WITH IAEA IN VIENNA CONCERNING JAPAN- IAEA NPT  
SAFEGUARDS AGREEMENT IN EARLY JUNE. JAPANESE PARTICIPANTS  
FELT THESE DISCUSSIONS WERE SATISFACTORY. BOTH SIDES AGREED TO  
EXCHANGE PAPERS IN JULY AND MEET AGAIN IN LATE AUGUST. EARLIER  
IN APRIL, FONMIN OHIRA REITERATED IN THE DIET GOJ' S POSITION  
THAT ONCE SATISFACTORY SAFEGUARDS AGREEMENT CONCLUDED, THERE  
WILL BE NO " MAJOR OBSTACLE" STANDING IN WAY OF JAPANESE  
RATIFICATION. NEEDLESS TO ADD, THE LDP HAS NOT YET ADDRESSED  
THE TASK OF RECONCILING DIVERGENT VIEWS WITHIN ITS RANKS  
ON THIS QUESTION.

PARAGRAPH. SUMMIT PROVIDES AN OPPORTUNITY TO CONVEY OUR SATIS-  
FACTION THAT JAPAN' S NEGOTIATIONS WITH IAEA HAVE BEEN BEGUN.  
FURTHER, AS GOJ HAS IN PAST INDICATED DESIRE TO DISCUSS BROAD  
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SAFEGUARDS ISSUES WITH US, SUMMIT PROVIDES OPPORTUNITY TO REITERATE USG'S WILLINGNESS TO HOLD SUCH DISCUSSIONS WITH GOJ AT EARLIEST APPROPRIATE TIME.

3. JAPANESE PERMANENT MEMBERSHIP IN SECURITY COUNCIL. ALTHOUGH THE JAPANESE DESIRE A PERMANENT SEAT ON THE SC, THEY HAVE NOT YET DEVISED A STRATEGY FOR OBTAINING THE SEAT WITHOUT UNDULY ENLARGING THE SIZE OF THE COUNCIL. WHILE THE GOJ HAS INITIATED SOME LOW-LEVEL SOUNDINGS WITH OTHER GOVERNMENTS ON THIS ISSUE OVER THE PAST YEAR, THEY DO NOT APPEAR TO HAVE ATTACHED GREAT PRIORITY TO THE MATTER, AND THEIR EFFORTS REVEAL NO GREAT SENSE OF URGENCY. FOR THE MOMENT THE JAPANESE SEEM TO BE CONCENTRATING UPON ESTABLISHING A MORE IMPRESSIVE SET OF CREDENTIALS FOR A PERMANENT SEAT, E. G. BY INCREASING THEIR UN BUDGET ASSESSMENT, AND OFFERING LARGE-SCALE FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A UN UNIVERSITY IN JAPAN. WE THINK IT UNLIKELY THAT THE GOJ WILL RAISE THIS QUESTION AT THE SUMMIT. IF THEY DO, HOWEVER, WE SHOULD NATURALLY REAFFIRM OUR SUPPORT FOR THEIR AMBITIONS, AND INQUIRE HOW THEY SEE THEIR PROSPECTS SHAPING UP.

4. COCOM. BILATERAL ISSUES CONNECTED WITH JAPANESE PARTICIPATION IN COCOM HAVE BECOME SIGNIFICANT OVER THE PAST YEAR BUT PROBLEM AREAS STILL REMAIN. AS JAPAN PREPARED FOR RESTORATION OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE PRC, JAPANESE OFFICIALS WERE ACUTELY AWARE THAT COCOM'S CHINA DIFFERENTIAL IMPOSED MUCH STRICTER CONTROLS ON STRATEGIC EXPORTS TO PRC THAN TO USSR AND WERE WORRIED ABOUT THE POLITICAL EFFECTS THAT DISCLOSURE OF THIS FACT MIGHT HAVE. AS A RESULT OF U. S. COOPERATION WITH OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE COCOM REVIEW SESSION WHICH CONCLUDED IN SEPTEMBER OF 1972, HOWEVER, MOST OF JAPANESE DESIRES WERE ACCOMMODATED.

PARAGRAPH. THE DIFFERENTIAL REMAINS ONLY ON COMPUTERS, AND THE JAPANESE ARE AWARE THAT THE U. S. IS RESTUDYING ITS POSITION ON THIS ITEM. HOWEVER, THE JAPANESE ARE CONCERNED THAT THE U. S. IS NOT MOVING FAST ENOUGH IN DEVELOPING A NEW POSITION. IN PARTICULAR, THEY ARE WORRIED THAT EXHIBITS IN PRC OF JAPANESE COMPUTER PRODUCTS (PERMITTED UNDER COCOM) MAY RESULT IN DISCLOSURE OF THE CHINA DIFFERENTIAL AND THUS HAVE ASKED THE U. S. CONFIDENTIAL

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TO MOVE QUICKLY TO ELIMINATE THIS LAST DIFFERENTIAL ITEM. BILATERAL EXPERT-LEVEL DISCUSSIONS WILL PROBABLY BE HELD TO ATTEMPT TO RESOLVE THIS PARTICULAR PROBLEM. PARAGRAPH. IN GENERAL, HOWEVER, JAPAN WOULD STILL PREFER TO SEE A CONSIDERABLE RELAXATION IN ALL STRATEGIC CONTROLS WHICH WOULD ENABLE IT TO SELL A GREATER VARIETY HIGH TECHNOLOGY PRODUCTS TO CHINA AND THE USSR. MORE PRESSURE

CAN BE EXPECTED IN THIS DIRECTION IN THE FUTURE.

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